/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

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861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /velorio/ (1)."

[764]
[152]

1. Velorio is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/56 cont./

The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

/59 cont./

884 It is toward his fifteenth year that the beginning of the age of manhood is noticed, and with it, the boy starts to break free from family tutelage, giving his opinions and making decisions on his own account. This independence, as we have already had occasion to see, is linked to the complete handing over to him of his animals, as he is already well practiced in the matter of livestock care to which he has been accustomed since his early years. It is also linked to agricultural work done on his own account, since he can develop new land when the traditional family land becomes scarce owing to excessive subdivision or monopoly by some member or members.

However, although his independence has increased, his relatives consider they have the right to ask him to account for his actions and oblige him to assume a fixed line of conduct, because he must always circumscribe his conduct to the family norms. At sixteen his physical development affirms his desire for independence, and at seventeen, or even before, he accentuates his manly traits so as to give the impression that he is a man in every sense of the word, and he becomes a caricature of that: he drinks ostentatiously at family gatherings; quarrels with his elders, expressing his opinions in a loud voice, and lets his boastful and arrogant comments be heard; he exaggerates the actions in which he has taken part; he adopts extreme positions in the face of unalterable situations; he shows off in any danger, /60/ trying to convince others of his grown-up manly qualities. At the beginning he is admitted reluctantly into the men's gatherings, but this situation changes into one of acquiescence which becomes full acceptance as the measure of his personality becomes definitively delineated, and the boy is converted into a real economic force, until he fills a clear and definitive position in the family and social group.

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This position of equilibrium is not reached until his twentieth year and in many cases not until the twenty-fifth, depending on personal qualities. And among all these extreme masculine attitudes that the youth adopts to establish his status

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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When migrating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on